THE COMMONWEAL

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

True Temperance Reform 497
Week by Week 498
Trudging Like a Snail 501
The Irish Land Annuities: I ..... John A. Ryan 502
American Collectivism ..... James Blaine Walker, jr. 505
The Bargainers (*verse*) ..... Daniel Whitehead Hicky 507
Immigration and the Crime Wave ..... T. St. John Gaffney 508
Town of Castroville ..... Julia Nott Waugh 509
The Dead Bird (*verse*) ..... Theodore Maynard 510
Communications 510
The Play and Screen ..... Richard Dana Skinner 512
Books ..... Frederic Thompson, Victor von Szeliski, Raymond Larsson, James J. Walsh 513

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TRUE TEMPERANCE REFORM

WHEN Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler appeals to "public opinion throughout the length and breadth of the land," there are two things which are certain: first, that the subject of his appeal will be of vital public importance; and, second, that his appeal will be given that earnest attention and thoughtful consideration which Dr. Butler invariably arouses. For there is no man in public life today who has more consistently and successfully used "the appeal to reason" in debating public matters. For many years Dr. Butler has employed his unique influence in opposing the gigantic evil of prohibition; not with mere rhetoric, master as he is of that instrument of persuasion, but with a steady, persistent, powerful, exposition of his thesis that the Eighteenth Amendment is a perversion of the true principles of the Constitution, and that it must be cut out of the body of fundamental law as a cancer must be removed from a human body before its malignant effect has wrought the destruction of the organism. There are few indeed who today have any doubts that Dr. Butler's unceasing efforts—together with those of so many other individuals and societies, and backed up at last by the preponderance of an aroused and enlightened public conviction—will be completely successful. It is a most enheartening fact. It proves what may be accomplished through and by truly democratic processes in dealing with many other social problems of the first magnitude. It is a demonstration of the power of the human will. If our economic problems are attacked in the same spirit, and with similar methods, they also can be solved.

Like the sincere and disinterested public servant that he is—for the true leader of public thought is the best of public servants—Dr. Butler does not propose to rest content with the approaching victory of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. He has cut the ground from under the feet of those prohibitionists who have accused him and other leaders of the long struggle against the evils of prohibition of having a merely destructive purpose—or of being the tools of the organized liquor traffic. In the view of such people, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment would simply bring chaos back again. Dr. Butler has answered the charge by releasing for study and discussion a striking and highly constructive outline of a plan for state liquor control following the repeal of federal prohibition. It is probable that nobody realizes more clearly than Dr. Butler that his plan cannot be the final word

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on the subject, and that its principal value is that of being, as the *Herald Tribune* remarks, "suggestive, provocative and timely, a proper challenge to intensive thought on the part of all true friends of temperance."

While the method outlined by Dr. Butler for regulating the future liquor traffic is intended primarily for the state of New York, it is applicable to all other states, not only singly, but also in groups. The basic principle of the whole plan is laid down as follows:

"It is essential to the success of any plan for state liquor traffic control that the Eighteenth Amendment be unconditionally repealed. Responsibility must be single and undivided. Any attempt to retain or to extend federal control over state action in respect to the liquor traffic, except as heretofore and now possessed under the interstate commerce clause, is doomed to failure and worse. It is not only wholly impracticable, but if attempted would still farther confuse the whole situation, undermine the principles of the Constitution as much as does the Eighteenth Amendment itself and throw the liquor problem into politics for another generation, with evil results which no one is wise enough to foresee. It is quite idle to talk of a federal guarantee against the 'return' of the saloon. The operation of the Eighteenth Amendment and of the Volstead Act have surely made that perfectly plain. The saloon has not 'gone' anywhere; it has only married the speakeasy and taken its wife's name. A hundred constitutional amendments and a thousand congressional statutes could not abolish the saloon. It can only be gotten rid of, as it will be gotten rid of, by local sentiment operating through local authority under a system which outlaws the liquor traffic when conducted for private profit."

It is the system devised and, on the whole, most successfully applied in Canada by the province of Quebec that Dr. Butler would adopt and modify in his plan for state control. He asks for a State Liquor Traffic Authority to have the exclusive control of the manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicating liquor within the state of New York. Administrative districts would be carefully established. The central authority and the district personnel from top to bottom must be men of "high competence." All revenues above expenses must be used for taxation purposes. Private profits for anybody concerned in the traffic must be absolutely forbidden. In order to discourage the use of distilled liquors in favor of light wines and beer, high prices would be charged for the former and low prices for the latter.

As more than one comment on Dr. Butler's plan has pointed out, no doubt what he chiefly wishes to avoid is the political saloon of former days, and therefore he insists upon every means possible to devise, to keep liquor control completely out of partizan hands.

Dr. Butler has had long and practical experience of politics. He is a realist, and not a vague idealist. He knows that no scheme for dealing with such a thing as strong drink can possibly be perfect, but in proposing his own plan he undoubtedly must believe that it is so far superior both to the discredited methods of the open saloon era, and the disastrous prohibition experiment, as to recommend it to the careful consideration of all who desire temperance and civilized use of drink to be allies.

The sketch we have given of Dr. Butler's main ideas is necessarily incomplete and inadequate. For this reason we call the attention of our readers to the fact that the complete plan can be obtained by addressing Box 213, Broadway and 116th Street, New York City. Dr. Butler's plan is far too important to be entrusted to the capricious treatment of newspaper publicity. Only a few papers have published it in full. It should be studied in particular by our Catholic temperance or total abstinence societies, and by all Catholics who while opposed to prohibition desire most earnestly to do their share in seeing to it that the liquor traffic of the future shall be dealt with sensibly. It will not do to permit the Eighteenth Amendment to be repealed and stop at that. The future youth of the land must be given a healthier environment physically, morally and spiritually than has hitherto prevailed. True temperance reform must succeed the orgy of intolerance and tyranny which for so long has held sway.

WEEK BY WEEK

THE AMERICAN LEGION having gone into session at Portland, Oregon, the vexing matter of the soldier's bonus again stirred Washington. Was it not rumored that the Legion would certainly thresh out the whole business, including the expulsion of the B. E. F.? Accordingly the administration seized the bull by the horns, but in a manner truly extraordinary. Mr. Mitchell issued a report declaring that, on the basis of a "vast amount" of "reports, affidavits and documentary evidence," he was enabled to affirm that the forces once led up and down Pennsylvania Avenue by Commander Waters formed "probably the largest aggregation of criminals that had ever been assembled in the city at one time." Moreover, large numbers of these frightful desperadoes were either Communists or loafers who had never seen service in the nation's armies. Faced with the appalling task of dealing with such a menace, the attitude of the city, the government, the police and the army was (according to Mr. Mitchell) wholly admirable. If the troops had not appeared there would have been at least a massacre. This picture is so shocking that, like photographs of the carnage at Verdun, it should lead Americans to ask in unison: "Can such things be?" The question was put, but in the form of a fairly astonishing critical inquiry into the motives and credibility of Mr. Mitchell. This we shall not review in detail; but the mere fact that the Attorney-General added to his list of crimes eighty-four cases of "military offenses"

The Bonus Controversy

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which did not suffice to deprive the individuals of an honorable discharge from the service goes far enough to prove the bias with which this report was written. Nor is there any satisfactory evidence whatever, beyond the merest hearsay and gossip, that more than 150 bonus marchers professed Communism. Finally, this terrifying "aggregation of criminals" committed virtually no offenses while in Washington.

WE HAVE said before and we repeat now that the Hoover administration is to be congratulated for its opposition to all pleas for a cash bonus. Even if the country were in a position to meet such demands, granting them would only pave the way for new appeals. But there are two ways of dealing with the problem. The first is to ignore the temper of public opinion and to proceed, with the help of the kind of stuff dished up by Mr. Mitchell, to hornswaggle as many citizens as can be fooled. The second is to realize that we are now a people millions of whom are without work and money; that some of us may make unreasonable demands without being utterly blameworthy because of those demands; and that the present crisis, unparalleled in our history, calls for an amount of deference and tact not expected in normal times. We are committed to the second point of view because we believe in realism. The immediate effect of the Mitchell letter is surely evidence in point. It contributed in no little measure to sharpen the animosities already flaring at the Legion convention and to necessitate Mr. Hoover's strong letter of September 14, asserting that the federal government cannot now assume further burdens. How powerless this letter itself was is evident from the news report that delegates to the Portland convention hardly took cognizance of it. All but 109 of the 1,276 votes were cast in support of a demand for immediate payment of the bonus. One can only conclude that the B. E. F., ousted from Washington, had marched a good many miles nearer its real objective.

THE CAMPAIGN is on, and the first week is doubtless Mr. Roosevelt's. Maine started the trend of events by turning from its accustomed stalwart Republicanism to such an extent that nearly all important offices were usurped by Democrats. Though the ancient legend is unquestionably pure folk-lore (the nation may not vote like Maine), the publicity value of such traditions is surely very great. This setback will, however, stir the Hoover camp to imitate the hard-fighting heroes of yore, and the nation has already been assured that the President will take the stump in a manner considered undignified in 1928. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has already swung round the West in a wide arc, making significant addresses and (we believe) an excellent impression. Taking for his themes such far-reaching economic problems as the reform of agriculture and the status of the railroads, he has spoken like the Wilson of the first period though with considerably less rhetoric. Possibly more important is the fact that the Roosevelt forces are manifesting genuine political leadership. They "click," to use an old phrase. And so everything augurs for a vigorous and bitterly contested fight, to which the Republicans will speedily bring all their accumulated strength and unco canniness.

Roosevelt Week

GUARDED reports have it that the American investor is not so unbounded an ass as has been commonly supposed. During the era which followed the war, he accumulated money toward which his attitude was explainably naive. It seemed to him then that an investment banker was a man familiar with his business, who could at least be relied upon to question the party anxious to make a loan. It likewise happened to be one of his convictions that if the government endorsed a petition for monetary help from abroad, the said government would think twice before committing itself. On both counts the American investor was hopelessly wrong. Regarding investment bankers, one must probably say that they knew a commission when they saw one and remained sublimely ignorant of every other subject. Of the government Dr. H. Parker Willis writes, in the New York *World-Telegram:* "In foreign countries there is a well-defined, if informal, mechanism for the determination of foreign approaches to the market; and it would be out of the question for outsiders to gain any such access to it as did those who borrowed immense sums in 1920-1930 from the American people." In other words, the one thing our State Department had in common with the bay tree was its greenness. The same Dr. Willis goes on to conclude: "Certain it is that we shall never recover our trade unless we are willing to finance it; and certainly the public will never again finance it so long as investors recall the experience of the last few years, unless they be assured of some more effective safeguards." No doubt this opinion is a little optimistic in its estimate of human nature. But why not indulge the hope that it is nevertheless correct?

Safeguarding the Investor

ANY FIELD of activity that permits spectacular bravery is bound to attract the foolhardy and the spectacular as well as the brave. The otherwise glorious history of aeronautics shows a high percentage of unjustifiable risks and needless losses. When Colonel George Hutchinson set out recently to gain publicity for a commercial venture by making an Arctic flight over the Atlantic with his wife and two small daughters, he certainly exemplified what is called an unjustifiable risk; and that his plane's collapse on the coast of Greenland did not result in the worst of the needless losses yet chalked up against aerial experiment, was due in no sense to the colonel's skill, knowledge or planning. He landed in Greenland despite the Danish government's refusal of permission on the

The Flying Family

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specific ground that his attempt would endanger the lives of a woman and two children; he was permitted to proceed, after paying a heavy fine, only on the understanding that he follow the somewhat safer coastline instead of crossing the trackless inland country, as he wished to do; and when, unable to negotiate even the safer route, he crashed his plane, his party was found, "largely by luck," by a British trawler which took the high risk of nosing along an ice-locked and desolate shore. So extreme was the blithe colonel's irresponsibility that, according to news stories, his family was not even provided with the proper heavy clothing against any sort of delay or emergency landing. We trust that the acute disfavor which has marked the public response to this near-calamity will teach the colonel and his sort discretion for the future, if it cannot teach them wisdom. After all, flying demands a ballast of brains.

THE ONLY way the generality of us have found of dealing with the institution variously designated lagniappe, pourboire or tip, is to pay and complain. Even if we have the conviction, we seem to lack the hardihood to turn away from the outstretched palm or the littered restaurant table without depositing therein or thereon the all-but-legal 10 percent of our incurred bill. Whether this is because we are sorry for the tippees, most of whom belong to the unprosperous classes, or because all tippees expect tips and we cannot brave the contempt and bad service they mete out to the non-tipper, there we nevertheless are. The answer makes no difference in our actual plight. The moral or social suction still plays upon our helpless pockets, extracting many a dime and quarter that we could do with ourselves, and that we watch brightening in its flight with what Mr. Alexander Woollcott has called, in other connections, tender rue. It is true that one chain of metropolitan restaurants interdicts the practice of tipping, by means of a lofty and quelling note on its menu card anent the dignity of service and the debasement of gratuities; but as the bill always contains a 10 percent compulsory charge for service, the practical difference to the patron may be called negligible. But now at last a man has arisen in France, mother of so many emancipators of the human mind. His name is Jean Charlot. Jean Charlot will not tip, but that is only the beginning of it. He has principles, has Jean Charlot, and character; and therefore he will not silently submit to the odium of the mere non-tipper. He has had coins prepared, one of which he invariably gives to any expectant servitor. On one side is the legend, "Get yourself paid by your employer"; on the other, "Tipping is beggary"; an admirable balance, one sees, between practical advice of the soundest, and abstract principle. The news story includes the restrained comment: "That the practice will become widespread is more than anyone hopes." How splendid if it were wrong!

The Reluctant Gratuity

WRITING in *Scribner's* on the ubiquitous topic, Gilbert Seldes interestingly locates the real American panic, not in the present, but in the period from 1926 to 1929. And there is enough in the analysis to make one thoughtful. For panic is not mere slump nor discouragement, nor yet the tendency to be resentful over hardships—phenomena which Mr. Seldes dismisses, in the contrast they imply between Americans and Europeans, as temporary, and due not to Americans' softer characters but to their much more continuous well-being. Panic is an actual contagion of hysteria—a group loss of nerve that no individual can control, any more than he can control an epidemic. And surely Mr. Seldes is right in seeing these symptoms in the boom. There was, as he points out, the mass fear of quitting while there was still money to be made; there was the paralysis of the nation's leaders after the omens changed, for "if the warning were issued, it might bring on the very calamity it intended to avoid. That is the argument. Behind it lies the awful symptom of panic—indecision." The advantage of this view of our recent past is not merely that it is the truest, probably, but that it is the most tonic, certainly. It draws out the last lingering poison of that memory, and braces us to the perception that we must get over it like men instead of secretly dreaming of its return, like hashish eaters. There might be worse occupations for every adult mother's son and daughter of us than to devote ten minutes daily to meditating Mr. Seldes's words: "The America of eccentrics, of individuals with strength of character enough not to want to make too much money, disappeared in these years [1926-1929], engulfed in a mob."

Panic Peak

WE HAVE long been seriously interested in the struggle of the railroads to survive, and it has often seemed that the competition of trucks, by means of which goods could be delivered from the door of the manufacturer to the door of the retailer with a minimum of intervening handling, was fundamentally—that is, irrespective of all the conflicting reports on the differentials in cost and deterioration of rolling stock, in maintenance cost for roadways and in government regulation—a tremendous advantage for the trucks and handicap for the railroads. The railroads, however, with an adaptability that does credit to them, seem to be close on a solution of the difficulty. Already one of the largest carriers has announced a door to door service for carload lots. Large vans will be used which can be left empty at the manufacturing (or farming or packing) establishment. These will be of the trailer type, and when filled, trucks to pull them to the freight yard will be sent by the railroad. They will be derricked onto flat cars without handling of the contents, and delivered by trucks at their destination. The plan is expected to provide expeditious ser-

Railroads and Trucks

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vice which will avoid the delays and possible damage of trucking the whole way on congested highways. Other principal rail lines are contemplating the same service. The matter of whether the trucking involved will be handled by the railroads' privately owned trucks or by the facilities of existing trucking companies is being debated. The general plan seems to us a happy wedding of the advantages of both types of carriers and to offer opportunities for coöperation rather than wasteful and harmful competition.

TRUDGING LIKE A SNAIL

THE LITTLE boy is tramping off to school again, his face scrubbed and his indifference to learning as obvious as his colored sweater. But ere long teachers, parents, school boards and superintendents will have united in a conspiracy to make it impossible for him ever to forget the alphabet and the multiplication tables. Eventually the boy, victorious over the hazards of measles, mumps and automobiles, will become still another citizen, made familiar daily with the great ideas of his President, the exploits of his especial athletic heroes and the psychiatric mishaps of Hollywood. Such is the picture which a resurrected Dean Swift might, not utterly without realism, limn in this year of grace. To be sure there is another version of the matter. Through the educational process the mind of contemporary man is formed—a mind doubtless little different from the collective soul of other periods of human history, but stamped now with the unmistakable, though hardly definable, seal of the classroom.

That the educational system has always been of the deepest interest to Americans is a platitudinous statement. Most of us are, indeed, so convinced that academic training figures among life's chief assets as to permit ourselves the luxury of extravagant hopes. Today the schools of the country reflect this indulgence first of all in really tremendous costs. Buildings and equipment represent a positively fabulous outlay, paying for which is well-nigh universally a baffling fiscal problem. It has been impossible during recent years to erect a high school for a city of 50,000 people for less than $1,000,000. Even the cost of rural schools, kept below minimum requirements by generations of poor and hard-fisted pioneers, has risen to really great heights during the past two decades. All surveys of the situation testify to an expansion of costs so notable that one may well wonder now how "it happened."

Meanwhile teaching staffs and salaries have gone up, too, even if the increases are proportionately negligible. Anybody who has watched the stiff battle to put a little bulge into the pay envelopes of teachers and professors realizes perfectly how slowly and painfully improvement was effected. The unwillingness of men genuinely gifted to enter a profession with such a meager financial outlook became a truism. Even so the first effect of the depression upon education has been a cut in teachers' salaries and an increase of teacher burdens. Short of default, there is no way in which the cost of expensive buildings and equipment can now be lowered. Diminished tax returns must go to meet interest and amortization obligations; and the axe will, in the accustomed manner, alight upon the necks of personnel.

The time has come, it seems to us, when America must realize that its debauch in academic buildings and equipment has been vain, silly and perilously harmful. Not that one has the slightest objection to architecture and engineering, or to the conveniences which money can purchase. Yet even if the educational plant had been acquired honestly, and not at the cost of innumerable rake-offs, it has been evident for some thousands of years that the sum-total of brick and stucco walls, plus Gothic towers and neo-classic stadiums, are powerless to educate anybody. The fields on which Eton has watched its sons play since secondary training became normal will not compare for splendor with the campus of a backwater American high school. Likewise does the great teacher have behind him an accumulated sequence of testimonials which not even the rashest advocate of stone and mortar would challenge. These facts could not have been ignored so easily if the fortunes of the nation's educational system had really been in competent, or let us say, professional hands.

Meanwhile the little boy is still tramping off, and one hopes that he will meet a teacher irrepressibly bright and cheerful in the knowledge that she after all has a job in a very handsome structure which netted a contractor $100,000 after all tips had been paid. The Catholic child is, of course, far more likely to be fortunate in this regard than are his cronies of public school persuasions. A teaching Sister, committed to her sacrifice whether it be greater or less, is not so troubled by the injustice which lurks always in the eyes of men. Yet even this Sister might have much to tell us regarding a similar disregard of values. Has she not also been, upon frequent and sometimes deplorable occasions, the victim of architectural ambition? It would be well for us if she could, collectively, speak her mind, and still better for us if she could place before us an accurate graph of her ideals and her necessarily restricted achievement.

It is all well enough to say, on this and other subjects, that a gilded age has made a fool of itself. It is another matter entirely to wrestle with the problem and to do spade work for a solution that will be frankly anti-materialistic. There exists at present a manifest tendency to pass the buck. Has the clergy been overpowered by its numberless obligations? Then it is—ah, yes, the laity, as if the laity had ever been, could ever be, a valid substitute for the clergy. Is the teacher swamped? Let us send for the parent—for his inestimable advice and right-mindedness. But these things, like all other sleight-of-hand performances, are merely dodges. No army ever won a battle. No child was ever educated save by an educator.

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THE IRISH LAND ANNUITIES: I

By JOHN A. RYAN

The controversy which has arisen between the British government and the Irish Free State over the so-called land annuities has numerous repercussions in this country as well as abroad. Father Ryan has made a careful study of the problem and offers his findings in two papers, of which this is the first. The object is not merely to outline the nature of the dispute and to define the terms, but to weigh impartially the merits of the conflicting arguments. It need hardly be added that Father Ryan is especially well fitted to embark on such a discussion, though the editors may differ from his conclusions.—The Editors.

BETWEEN June 22 and August 6 of this year I made two visits to Ireland. The first occurred during the Eucharistic Congress. The second lasted from July 26 to August 6. I was in Dublin when Mr. De Valera delivered his speech in College Green, July 28; at Limerick when he spoke there the night of July 30, and in Dublin again August 5, when he made his long reply in the Dail Eireann. My stay in Dublin during the Eucharistic Congress will always remain a glorious memory, but the second visit is associated with events that arouse feelings of sadness and foreboding. And the contrast between the state of mind of the Irish people during the week of the congress and one month later was equally pronounced and depressing.

Great Britain has imposed heavy tariffs upon the cattle, butter, eggs and other staple products exported from the Irish Free State; the latter has retaliated with practically prohibitive duties upon imports of British coal, cement and certain other products. The economic suffering inflicted upon the Irish people by these two sets of tariffs is already grave and will become continuously graver. It will be set forth in some detail in a second article.

The destructive tariffs are a consequence of the refusal of President De Valera to continue paying over to Great Britain the land annuities. These are not taxes; they are not in any sense a fiscal payment or a tribute. Between 1870 and 1909 no less than eighteen Land Acts were passed by the British Parliament to enable the Irish farmers to become the owners of the land on which for centuries they had been merely tenants. With some variations as regards details, these Land Acts provided that the British government should furnish the means of buying out the landlords and be reimbursed through annual instalments paid by the tenant purchasers over a long period of years. According to the terms of some of the Land Acts, the landlords received cash; according to others, they were paid in land stock, that is, public securities issued by the British government. The cash was obtained from a sale of land stock by the British government to the general public, both in Great Britain and Ireland. The land annuities received from the Irish tenant purchasers are handed over by the British government to the holders of the land stock as annual interest and sinking fund. Ultimately, the Irish tenant purchasers are debtors to the holders of the land stock. The Free State government is essentially the agent for the collection of the annuities, while the British government is essentially the agent for their distribution. To be sure, the British government is legally committed to make these annual payments to the holders of the land stock, whether or not it receives the means to do so in the form of the land annuities.

Before the establishment of the Irish Free State, the annuities were collected by the Land Commission, which was a part of the British governmental system in Ireland. After that event, they were collected by the government of the Irish Free State. When Mr. De Valera became the head of the government early in the present year, he gave notice that no more annuities would be sent out of the Irish Free State until he had become assured that they were legally and morally due to the British government. Upon what grounds did he question the propriety of a practice consistently carried on by his predecessors?

In his speech at Limerick, July 30, Mr. De Valera declared that the annuities were neither legally nor morally due to Great Britain. The legal case for nonpayment is exceedingly complex and technical. All that will be attempted here is to analyze the two main arguments advanced by Mr. De Valera.

One of them is based upon the fact that the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 assigned the land annuities in both Southern and Northern Ireland to the respective governments which were to be set up in these areas. It is difficult to take this argument seriously. The act just mentioned was never accepted by the authorized representatives of Southern Ireland and never went into effect there. It was supplanted by the treaty setting up the Irish Free State which was signed in December, 1921, and duly approved in January, 1922. Since the Free State government never accepted any part of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, it obviously never recognized or ratified the provision about retaining the land annuities. On the contrary, it paid them over to Great Britain from the beginning.

The other legal argument seems to be based upon a technical legal classification, namely that the land stock is part of the public debt of Great Britain. The agreement between Great Britain and the Free State made December 3, 1925, completely absolves the latter from all "liability for service of the public debt." Hence the Free State became relieved of the obligation to pay over the land annuities to Great Britain. This is a rather neat syllogism, but the former administration of the Free State was discourteous enough to deny the

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major proposition. The "White Paper" issued by that administration last December, entitled "Land Purchase Annuities" and containing sixty-five large pages, presents a very minute and elaborate argument by Mr. John A. Costello, then Attorney-General in the Cosgrave government, supplemented by a brief signed by five distinguished lawyers. This document strongly contends that the land stock is not part of the public debt of Great Britain. Another lawyer, Mr. Henry Harrison, defends the opposite thesis in his pamphlet, "The Strange Case of the Irish Land Purchase Annuities." Those who are sufficiently interested may with profit study both these sources.

The pertinent and decisive facts of the legal situation seem to be about as follows. The Free State government had accepted the legal obligation to pay over the annuities on three separate occasions prior to 1925: in 1922, in Article 79 of the Free State Constitution, and in Section 12 of the Land Act passed by the Dail, August 9, 1923. Now it is inconceivable that the agreement of December 3, 1925 (confirmed by the Dail one week later), could have repealed these explicit commitments by a mere implication. Had the makers of this agreement intended to effect such a repeal, to include the annuities in the "service of the public debt" which they were lifting from the Free State government, they would undoubtedly have felt obliged to make a specific declaration to that effect. The fact that the Free State government continued to pay over the annuities after the ratification of the 1925 agreement shows that it did not regard the land stock as a part of the public debt of Great Britain nor the annuities as part of "the service of the public debt." Hence the Land Act passed August 9, 1923, remains a perfectly legal and unrepealed act of the Free State Parliament.

The legal situation has been complicated by the assertion that the agreement of the Cosgrave government to pay over the annuities was made in secret and never properly ratified. In his speech in the Dail, August 5, Mr. De Valera made this charge, apparently with reference to the Hills-Cosgrave Agreement of February 12, 1923. Whereupon Mr. Hogan, Ex-Minister of Agriculture, promptly replied that the terms of this agreement were ratified by the Dail, August 9, 1923, that this was done openly and that the preceding discussion was participated in by the Labor and Farmer members. At that time the followers of Mr. De Valera were not members of the Dail because they had not yet found a conscientious way to take the oath of allegiance. Mr. De Valera then turned to the Blythe-Churchill Agreement of March 19, 1926, and declared that it was not binding upon the Free State government since it had never been ratified by the Dail. The Blythe-Churchill Agreement was intended to provide "heads of the ultimate financial settlement between the British government and the government of the Irish Free State." It covered several subjects which had been left over from or not taken up in the Hills-Cosgrave Agreement of February 12, 1923. All that it did with regard to the land annuities was to provide that they should be paid to the British government without deduction on account of income taxes to the Free State. In other words, this agreement dealt with a detail of the payment of annuities, but not with its substance. This is the position specifically taken by the "White Paper" (page 24). It asserts that the disputed clauses of the Blythe-Churchill Agreement "have no relation to nor are they any authority for such payment. They relate solely to payment in full without deduction." Therefore, Mr. Thomas, the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in the British government, was mistaken when he asserted that the Blythe-Churchill Agreement "confirmed" the Hills-Cosgrave Agreement. In passing, it may be observed that the Blythe-Churchill Agreement was at least virtually confirmed by the Dail, inasmuch as the money was provided in the subsequent annual budgets for carrying out its specifications and these budgets were all ratified in due form.

My own opinion is that the legal case for retention of the annuities by the Free State government is so feeble that it would be promptly and completely rejected by any impartial tribunal.

The first of the two moral arguments advanced by Mr. De Valera in his Limerick speech is a two-edged sword, while the second is a fair question for direct negotiation or for arbitration. The President seems to have perceived the perilous implications of the former, since he dealt with and dismissed it in a few words. In substance, it asserts that since the land of Ireland was forcibly taken from the people by the British government and the landlords, neither is entitled to compensation. This contention has a certain ethical appeal and ethical plausibility.

Observe, however, the dilemma which it presents to Mr. De Valera. As inheritors of ill-gotten goods, the landlords who were bought out under the various Land Acts had no claim to compensation; hence the land rightfully belongs now either to the descendants of those who were robbed in the old bad days or to the people as a whole; in other words, to the Irish Free State. In the former hypothesis, those descendants who have taken advantage of the Land Acts do not owe annuities to any person or to any government. Yet Mr. De Valera insists that they must still pay the annuities to the Free State. In passing, it should be noted that even if the tenant purchasers were permitted to retain the annuities themselves, those disinherited descendants who never had an opportunity to become purchasers under the Land Acts, whose name is legion and who live not only in Ireland but in many other lands, are deprived of any share in the belated restitution. This is a typical instance of the inconvenient problems one raises when one goes too far back for property titles. Since Mr. De Valera rejects this horn of the dilemma, in claiming that the annuities belong not to the tenant purchasers but to the Irish Free State, he is impaled on the other horn which commits him to

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the doctrine taught by Henry George or to some other form of agrarian Socialism. Nevertheless, he repudiated in his August 5 speech in the Dail any intention of setting up a Socialistic state. Thus he departed for once from his customary devotion to strict logic.

The second moral argument is to the effect that the British government still owes the Free State large sums of money on account of various excessive charges which it imposed upon Ireland during the period of the Union. The most important of these is described in the well-known estimate by Lord McDonnell, who had been Under-Secretary in Ireland from 1902 until 1908, that Ireland had been overtaxed to the extent of £350,000,000. According to Mr. De Valera, the annual interest on this and other overcharges amounts to more than the whole of the Irish annuities. In other words, the annuities would only partially offset the annual interest due from, but not paid, by Great Britain to the Irish Free State.

The only effective reply to this argument is to be found in the agreement cited above between the representatives of Great Britain and the Irish Free State, December 3, 1925, and confirmed by the Dail a week later. One of its provisions released the Free State from the obligation set down in Article Fifth of the treaty, by which the Free State assumed "liability for the service of the public debt of the United Kingdom, as existing at the date hereof and toward the payment of war pensions as existing at that date, in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim. . . ."

When the representatives of Great Britain consented, December 3, 1925, to relieve the Free State from the liability just specified, one may safely conclude that they recognized the validity "by way of set-off or counter-claim" of such "just claims" as were described in the statement and estimate by Mr. McDonnell.

Did this concession constitute a full and just recognition of Ireland's claims under the head of excessive taxation and other excessive charges? This question seems to have been answered in the affirmative by Messrs. Cosgrave, O'Higgins and Blythe when they signed the agreement of December 3, 1925. Perhaps they were mistaken. Perhaps they were outwitted by the superior bargaining craft of Messrs. Baldwin, Churchill, Joynson-Hicks and Amery and Lord Birkenhead. This is the suggestion made by Henry Harrison in the pamphlet cited above. Here is a matter for discussion and possible revision by an impartial tribunal. Perhaps such a board would decide that Mr. De Valera is at least partially right, that a part of the annuities may justly be retained by the Free State because the excessive charges imposed by Great Britain upon Ireland exceeded the liabilities undertaken by the Free State in Article Fifth of the treaty.

Why did not the contending parties have recourse to arbitration when they failed to agree in their direct negotiations over the annuities? It seems fair to say that the blame for their failure in this respect does not lie all upon one side. Both Mr. Thomas and Mr. De Valera have shown unreasonable obstinacy and a lack of the true spirit of accommodation.

The first false move was made by Mr. De Valera. He could have handed over to Great Britain the annuities payable in June, at the same time giving notice that he desired to have the question of their legality immediately reopened. Instead of doing that, he declared that he was retaining the annuities until the British government had proved its right to them. He did not even say that he was putting the annuities into a "suspense fund," pending negotiations on the subject between the two governments. After his fruitless discussion with Mr. Thomas he did, indeed, indirectly and informally publish the fact that he was putting the annuities into such a fund. This was a belated and ungracious way of making an announcement that was vital to the negotiations. Moreover, I have been informed by a very high authority that Mr. De Valera intended at the beginning to convert the annuities into the Free State Treasury, and desisted only when his legal advisors warned him that he had no legal authority for his contemplated action.

The second false move was made by Mr. Thomas when he laid down two conditions precedent to arbitration. According to the first condition, the annuities already due should be handed over to the British government as fast as they were received by the Free State from the tenant purchasers. The second condition was that the chairman of the arbitration board should be chosen from within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Prominent Irishmen have defended Mr. Thomas's first condition on the ground that he realized that unless this condition were fulfilled Mr. De Valera would delay the arbitration discussions indefinitely, while the British Treasury would in the meantime be obliged to find other means of paying the interest and sinking fund due to the holders of the land stock. Whatever merit one may be disposed to accord to this defense of the first condition imposed by Mr. Thomas, the second was clearly indefensible. Neither in the Constitution of the British Commonwealth of Nations nor in logic nor in morals is there any compelling reason why the chairman of a board set up to adjust differences between Great Britain and one of the dominion nations should be chosen from within the British Commonwealth. In his Limerick speech, Mr. De Valera declared that Mr. Thomas held to this condition "as a principle." For this position there is no rational justification. Few if any political propositions are worthy of the term "principles," unless they involve considerations of morals. In other words, genuine political principles are for the most part ethical principles also. Obviously no ethical principle is involved in the question whether the chairman of an arbitration board to decide the question of the Irish land annuities should or should not be chosen from among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

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When he reported this attitude of Mr. Thomas to his Limerick audience Mr. De Valera replied with a "principle" of his own. As a matter of "principle," he could never accept Mr. Thomas's "principle." Inexorable principle, as Mr. De Valera saw it, required the chairman of the arbitration board to be chosen from outside the British Commonwealth. Obviously this principle is worth as much and as little as the contrary principle put forward by Mr. Thomas.

According to the New York *Times,* June 18, 1932, Mr. De Valera added a practical reason for his refusal to accept a chairman from one of the British dominions. The choice of such a chairman, he said, would mean that "the dice would . . . be loaded against Ireland." A greater Irishman and a more competent student of political science than the existing President of the Free State once declared that he knew of no procedure by which an indictment could be drawn up against a whole nation. What Edmund Burke professed himself unable to do against a single nation, Mr. De Valera sees no difficulty in doing against half a dozen! He has indicted all these nations as unable to produce one fair-minded man.

Had Messrs. Thomas and De Valera ignored the technical and irrelevant question about the nationality of the impartial chairman that they were seeking, they would not have involved themselves in their present unfortunate position and they might readily have come to an agreement. For example, each might have submitted to the other a list of names without reference to nationality. Both could then have discussed the combined list and evaluated the competency of the personnel, free from the disturbing and perverting influence of alleged "principles." This would have been the course dictated by statesmanship, prudence, common sense and a decent regard for nationalistic prepossessions. It is only by such methods and in such a spirit that negotiations of this sort have ever been effectively conducted or brought to a fruitful termination.

If the foregoing analysis of the dispute about the annuities is correct, the conclusions that seem to follow are that the legal case for the retention of the annuities by the Irish Free State is extremely weak, that the moral case has sufficient merit to call for free negotiation or arbitration and that in their approach to and discussions of the whole matter Mr. Thomas and, in greater measure, Mr. De Valera have shown inexcusable ineptitude. In a succeeding article, I shall describe briefly the political and economic evils which this ineptitude has inflicted upon the people of the Irish Free State.

AMERICAN COLLECTIVISM

By JAMES BLAINE WALKER, JR.

AT THIS time, a month or so before the presidential election of 1932, we are about to become engulfed in the usual quadrennial tidal-wave of words. Most of us unconsciously flinch at the thought, and pity our benighted forebears whose opportunities for amusement were so limited that they actually went miles and voluntarily exposed themselves to campaign oratory. In these "enlightened" days of radio activity, the majority are interested in reducing such contact to a minimum. Since complete escape is impossible, is there not some way of eliminating subjects which give the greatest anguish? For each of the great army of helpless listeners there are certain subjects that broached by speakers for either party, cause him to go off the air for the night. If enough of us listeners would only get together!

For my part, the topic which more than any other causes my flesh to creep, is the use of that hoary, inept expression, "American individualism." Largely, I suspect, because of its grand ambiguity and a somewhat flattering appeal to our national vanity, it has come, through constant usage, to have almost miraculous attributes—a sort of Republican abracadabra used in large measure to offset the mystical qualities of the great Democratic medium and table-tipper, "Jeffersonian democracy." It is the intangible cause of all national good, and the sure means of solving all social and political problems for which no practical solution is ready at hand. Why even President Hoover felt himself so devoutly overcome at the mere thought of it that he was impelled to write an entire book about it!

Owing to its place in the hierarchy of national shibboleths, it is hard to tell what the phrase is actually intended to convey. Certainly not its literal English significance, because we Americans are less individualistic than most Europeans. After years of very patient attention to speakers on the subject, I am forced to conclude that the expression has reference to a strong pioneer spirit of initiative, combined with a large proportion of personally defined liberty of action. But it is just this latter principle which is the cause of some of our present troubles. To take one instance, individualism has had a Roman holiday in the field of production, proceeding on the theory that we need only produce and Dame Nature and high pressure salesmen will do the rest! But, granting the merit of some of these qualities in the past, one wonders whether radically changing economic conditions do not call for somewhat different qualities in the future.

As a matter of fact, we Americans are known much less for individualism than for our collectivism—meaning, in this case, our ability to get along one with another and to achieve certain practical results by group action or team work. Present conditions suggest a development of this faculty rather than an extension of the theory of so-called individualism as a means of

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solving some of our difficulties. So why not turn over to those who will shortly take the air, the substituted topic, "American collectivism"? If nothing else, it has the virtue of novelty and sounds so much like Communism that it is bound to attract attention.

If one were to proceed with the specific and practical development of this idea, one might define American collectivism as the idea of attempting the stabilization of improved economic conditions by accelerating that trend toward extended group activity, already strongly manifest in business in the United States. This tendency, as evidenced not only by concentration of business volume, but also by the growth and activity of trade associations, provides a practical basis for greatly extended coöperation in the future. It is really only a natural and well-defined stage in the evolution of industrialism. The prior step was the organization and development of individuals into company groups and the equipment of these groups for large-scale production. Having brought company organization to its present point, it is believed that the next stage of accelerated development may well be the perfection of inter-company organization into coördinated groups for each industry through the media of these trade associations. Undoubtedly business volume will tend to concentrate at the same time, through mergers and holding company control, thus simplifying the movement. The next step thereafter might be to bring the various trade associations into one national group which, under the proper circumstances, could be of great service to the country in general.

Specifically, what might be done at once, is to create more effective trade organizations. In many cases in the past, these have been neglected step-children, simply tolerated by busy executives wholly concerned with putting their own particular brand of American individualism into effect. But in recent years, any disinterested observer would remark a change of point of view. In spite of considerable scepticism on the part of certain old-time business men, these associations have done some remarkably effective work, and, even without having had the best type of support, they have in many cases improved trade practices and eliminated a great deal of unfair competition. Any business man will be able to verify this. There is at the moment a particularly impressive instance. A large industry connected with the distribution of certain food products is threatened with the intrusion of outside capital in substantial amounts, which, if allowed, would have the effect of about doubling the present more than adequate facilities; there is no promise of lowered costs or better service, simply the desire of one of the major industries to extend its field of profit-making. However, through the activity of a really strong trade organization, it is believed that this intrusion will be successfully and peacefully prevented and a normal condition of business restored. No one familiar with the facts could fail to credit this trade association with the highest type of genuine public service. The country has thus been saved a large waste of effort and capital. With instances such as this in mind, many business leaders have come to realize that often their most serious problems are extra-company and even extra-industry.

Along these same lines, and indicating a field fertile for development, is the practice of several large companies getting together and pooling their disbursements for experimental work. As actually tried out, it has been found that this works splendidly and that for a lesser charge to each company, the group can engage better talent, have finer equipment and generally go further in scientific research than if each one operated independently. This idea could be taken up by many industries not only for work of a highly technical nature, but also for ordinary practical advancement toward better products and broader markets.

Every business man can refer off-hand to a dozen cases where improved industrial conditions have resulted from coöperation between different companies or from the activities of trade associations, and most men of affairs are already conscious of the tendency toward even greater activity of this kind. The movement should be stimulated by giving trade associations better support than they have ever had before! In the past, they have ordinarily been considered as just something to give a yearly contribution to. The best talent in most companies has been spent on the more immediately practical intra-company problems of actual production and distribution. But in view of the fact that many of the more remote, broadly general problems are actually more vital to the prosperity of a company than those internal matters to which most time has been given, hasn't the time come to broaden one's perspective in regard to these trade associations? If the entire time of some of the leading men in each industry could be given to their work, they would become organizations of real power. Then the broad fundamental problems of all industries could be tackled in an organized way instead of, as now, either ignored or given half-hearted solutions. To make the work of these associations extraordinarily effective it is only necessary to supply them with a personnel comparable to that used in running any large company. With a stimulus of this kind, the most natural thing in the world would be that these trade associations would organize themselves into a national body in order to consider the huge economic problems that affect business as a whole.

This plan of a national entity of some sort working for business stabilization, has of late had many distinguished advocates and has been put forward in many different forms. However my point is, that if this marked tendency in the business world toward centralization and coöperative action is stimulated, it will prove so powerful in solving our economic difficulties that arbitrary and outside action will not have to be invoked, and, to my mind, this manner of business attempting to solve its own problems by extending established practices without governmental interference, is more practical and effective than those formulae which

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prescribe legislative control or entirely novel national action.

The consideration of this idea in reference to present conditions has certain other well-defined and interesting angles. While there is in this country a remarkable ability to promote the common good, yet the circumstances of the last two years have made evident the neglect of certain fundamentals of public welfare. An economic structure providing hitherto unknown advantages has proved to be a Frankenstein.

More specifically, this country has become, within the short period of a hundred years, intensely industrial instead of primitively agricultural. Formerly each social unit produced nearly all of its own requirements, now ever-increasing masses produce constantly diminishing percentages of the total of such requirements. Not only has the degree of dependence of one producing group upon others throughout the country greatly increased, but the general productive capacity now exceeds purely domestic requirements and large masses are vitally affected by groups outside the country. The Western farmer is really an international business man. His prosperity is dependent not alone on a customer group in the United States, but also upon one in Europe, whose potentialities as a consumer are, in turn, vitally affected by the farmer in Argentina.

The present problem of bringing about some sort of relationship between production, distribution and consumption so that the sharply segregated masses of workers may always have the means of obtaining and paying for the necessities of life, is a difficult one. But it must be tackled, despite that great school of opinion in this country which argues that since this problem has never been worked out on a national scale it is not necessary now. They would let rugged American individualism go plunging blindly ahead, looking neither to the right nor the left, and trust that things will come out all right in the end. This willingness, however, to accept conditions of the present as unavoidable will soon be as outmoded as the horse and buggy and the wooden plow. In conformity with its usual optimistic conception that man's material problems can frequently be solved, and that effort toward this end is often rewarded, even though no solution is apparent at the start, the American mind will inevitably refuse to accept present economic problems as insoluble and their recurrence unavoidable.

Therefore, realizing the need of some sort of economic balance wheel for business in the United States, wouldn't it be well, before attempting further governmental regulation, to examine present tendencies and existing machinery to see if there is something which might be directed toward this purpose? And will not a casual glance over the scheme of business organization draw one's attention to the work of trade associations? Wasn't their creation a sort of intuitive groping toward a greater purpose? If an attempt is to be made to bring about a more intelligent control between the elements of production and the consuming field, doesn't the record of these entities entitle them to consideration before absolutely new and untried methods are examined? After all, these groups have a real record of actual accomplishment.

Suppose that a group of the largest industries would decide to put added life into existing trade associations or to form new ones, with the idea that broader and more fundamental problems were to be tackled. Suppose that some of the more important companies would contribute the full time of one of their leading executives and that these men would not interfere with the regular routine work but would be charged with bringing in recommendations looking toward a better control between production and outlet and for more effectively stabilized employment. As part of their job, they would have the duty of conferring with a similar group in all related industries and possibly of taking part in deliberations of a national council representing all leading industries. Undoubtedly, in order to carry out some of their plans, there would be need for revised national legislation in regard to competitive practices, but with the public opinion which would support such an effort, it is believed that such relief would be secured in Washington. Able men working on a specified program could overcome many seemingly difficult obstacles.

Now, of course, some good old American individualists will froth at the mouth at what they will call Socialism, syndicalism, restricted liberty. Most certainly the idea is that some sort of industrial control be attempted. Therein lies the solution. But, to my mind, this will result in a greater degree of individual liberty, not less. As a matter of fact, the most exacting restrictions on liberty today are those untoward effects set up by a depression. Surely there is not much liberty under conditions which find seven million men out of work, although willing and anxious to labor. The charitable dole now necessarily resorted to is much more repugnant to true Americanism than some system of industrial control and regulated production. No, individualism, American or otherwise, isn't the solution. Real liberty comes from coöperation, and the greater the degree of the latter the more there is of the former.

The Bargainers

The Summer asked of Autumn yesterday:
"What will you give me for these fading flowers,
These twilights that I bring; these shattering hours
Throbbing with perfume still? What will you pay?"
And Autumn pondered, fingering the things
That Summer brought: a scarlet rose half-bled,
A bough of honeysuckle and a red
And yellow pair of butterflies' bright wings.

And Autumn held them coldly to the light.
"This flower crumbles on the finger tips;
This butterfly is far too tired to fly;
I offer you but lodging for the night."
And Summer wept. All songs died on her lips,
Taking the road when dawn burned in the sky.

DANIEL WHITEHEAD HICKY.

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IMMIGRATION AND THE CRIME WAVE

By T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

IT IS the common practice of certain societies which propagate a form of copyright patriotism to charge against our foreign-born population, the crime wave which is sweeping over our country. These super-patriotic bodies, however, fail to explain the paradox that while the number of immigrants coming to our shores during the past fifteen years has been steadily diminishing, the crimes of violence, including murders, robberies, kidnappings and hold-ups, have more than doubled. In fact, during this period almost as many alien-born have left the United States for their home-lands, as have come to us. Furthermore, the official statistics in regard to the criminality of the foreign-born disprove the charge that this class is responsible for the existing reign of violence against life and property. The fact that foreign names appear so often in the police records and court calendars is no evidence that the bearers are really of alien birth. It is notorious that many crooks, upon arrest, assume false names. Formerly, the custom was to give Irish names, now Italian and Slavonic are more popular.

The immigrants who have come here during the period under discussion, have been mostly honest and capable people, whose industry and hard work have been of the greatest profit and service to our country. They have been, in the main, manual laborers who have carried on the major portion of the heavy work, for which false standards of education unfit the native-born.

From whence, then, come the criminals who are such a menace to law, order and the security of society, and who brand us with shame amongst civilized nations? The average age of these brigands and bandits runs from seventeen to twenty-five, and the great majority have been born in America and are the product of our schools, sensational press, movies and speakeasies. There must be something radically wrong with the training of these youths under our school system, when they turn to a life of crime as soon as they start out in the world. To attribute the prevalence of crime to foreign-born immigrants and use this as an argument for additional prohibitionary laws is grossly unfair on the part of anti-immigration agitators. The government must accept the responsibility for the acts of native-born citizens trained under the American flag.

Dr. Frederick Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, has recently published an interesting survey dealing with our criminal statistics, in which he informs us that 12,000 persons were murdered in the United States during 1931. The homicide rate has risen from 5.1 in 1900 to 10.8 in 1931. It is saddening to read that for every 8 deaths by homicide per 1,000,000 population in London, there were 83 in New York City and 141 in Chicago. An examination of Dr. Hoffman's statistics clearly shows that the increase in crime in American cities cannot with any justice be charged against our foreign-born immigrants. Another significant fact is that cities with the highest ratio per 100,000 population for homicide, are those in which the Anti-saloon League and the Methodist and Baptist propagandists, such as Bishop Cannon, are dominant factors. The Southern states have the smallest percentage of foreign stock, about 5 percent, while New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Rhode Island have approximately 50 percent. The Southern states, which are distinctively native American and favor prohibition, take the palm for murder and other crimes. They are also the most backward and illiterate and least progressive states in the Union, while the Northern states in which the foreign element predominates, are the best educated, the wealthiest and most prosperous. Evidence is clear also that many more Negroes are killed in the Southern states by white men than white people are murdered by Negroes.

The cities with the highest ratio for murder per 100,000 population Dr. Hoffman lists as follows:

Birmingham, Ala.	54.9	Lexington, Ky.	36.8
Memphis, Tenn.	52.2	Nashville, Tenn.	36.7
Atlanta, Ga.	49.5	Mobile, Ala.	34.7
Jacksonville, Fla.	48.5	Miami, Fla.	33.2
Macon, Ga.	44.5	Savannah, Ga.	30.5
Montgomery, Ala.	42.8	Gary, Ind.	30.2
Little Rock, Ark.	40.4		

As compared with the rate of 54.9 in Birmingham, the percentage in the following cities is instructive particularly in view of their large foreign population:

Providence, R. I.	1.2	Los Angeles, Cal.	7.0
Fall River, Mass.	1.7	Philadelphia, Penn.	7.2
Cambridge, Mass.	1.8	New York, N. Y.	8.3
Boston, Mass.	3.6	Chicago, Ill.	14.1

I respectfully refer Dr. Hoffman's authoritive survey to the consideration of members of those so-called patriotic societies who are persistently agitating for additional restrictive immigration laws which, if adopted, would keep from our shores, many honest working people who would prove a valuable asset in the revival of our country's business.

In an address delivered on May 15 Frank W. Smith, Clerk of the Court of General Sessions of New York, declared that in the last two years crimes had increased 140 per cent. During this period the immigration to our shores has been comparatively nil so that the alien element can hardly be charged with contributing to this crime wave.

An amusing feature of this campaign is, that a large proportion of the agitators on the subject of restricted immigration are the offspring or descendants of the very class of immigrants they now seek to exclude.

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TOWN OF CASTROVILLE

By JULIA NOTT WAUGH

ON A BLUE autumnal morning the Order of the Alhambra dedicated at Castroville a monument which commemorates the founding of the first church between San Antonio and the Rio Grande. For on September 12, eighty-seven years ago, Monsignor Jean Marie Odin, Vicar Apostolic of Texas, titular Bishop of Claudiopolis, stood on a green field of this virgin land, and blessing the corner-stone of a church for the village that was yet to be, "placed it under the invocation of Saint Louis, king." On that day, also, the people declared their settlement should be named in honor of its founder, Castro-ville.

How does it happen that we have on the plains of Texas a town which is called a *ville,* and a church dedicated to the royal saint of France? There are reasons a-plenty. This was a colony of far wanderers from the eastern provinces of Gaul, brought hither through the efforts of a man from the *departement* of Landes, shepherded by a bishop who, although he traveled into far countries in the long years of his service, was born and died in Ambierle. It was natural that these deracinated immigrants should wish to create for themselves a bit of the homeland. And if the lives they led and the town they built were French with a German flavor, that was but an echo of the *pays* from which they came. For they hailed from Alsace, Lorraine and from the lower Rhine provinces. And what are Strasburg, Colmar, Mulhouse, Belfort, all France from Nancy (where the beer begins to be good) straight up to the German border, but French with a Teutonic tang?

Castroville lies twenty-five miles west of San Antonio on the white road which winds to the Rio Grande. It was founded in the year 1844 by Count Henri de Castro, a polygenous nobleman born in Landes of Portugese descent, who became an American citizen when he was Neapolitan consul at Providence, Rhode Island! This man of energy, one time partner of Lafitte (financier, not pirate), was made consul from the Republic of Texas to France; and was instrumental in negotiating a loan of $7,000,000 for the new-born nation. In return for this and other services he was granted a principality (two of them, in fact) on condition that he should bring 600 families to Texas within the ensuing three years. He had to overcome, of course, the difficulties attendant on such an enterprise. But the result of his tenacity was that between 1843 and 1847 nineteen boats carried perhaps five thousand souls from Europe to Texas.

From the coast the immigrants treked the 270 miles inland to San Antonio. At the frontier town the first comers awaited the later arrivals, until a sufficient number should be gathered to make reasonably safe a community in the wilderness. Finally, on September 1, 1844, Count de Castro and fifty colonists set out on the last leg of their long journey. At eight o'clock on the morning of September 3, they forded the Medina, and stopping on the level land just beyond, decided to call this spot home. They scouted through the country, laboring while the light held. But they were true Gauls, who knew that life's span is made for both work and play, and that men cannot live by hope alone. "The improvised kitchen of my French colonists," the Count writes, "was soon filled with dishes which, aided by the drink I contributed, soon put everybody in good humor, and the evening was spent in a gay manner."

A week later a town was to the fore. On September 10, Bishop Odin, accompanied by the Abbé Ogé, arrived in the midst of the toiling pioneers. On September 12 the colony was *en fête*: there were bonfires, discharges of musketry, "the usual libations," the election of officers, the official naming of the town. The great moment came when Bishop Odin with the authority of the centuries, using the ancient ritual of far-away Rome, surrounded by whatever splendor the community could achieve, stood amidst the greenery of this half-savage land and blessed the corner-stone of the Church of St. Louis—king and saint in the country which was home to most of these people.

Now Castroville was built with toil and merriment and piety. On September 13, the Bishop wrote: "We have seen a good number of colonists at work building their houses with a view to forming a solid and permanent settlement."

"The Almighty has created us to work," the Count told his people. "Let us fulfill our destiny if we desire to secure the welfare of our families. I will aid you with all my might and my resources."

Through the winter and the spring these laborers "fulfilled their destiny." Other colonists were added to the original settlers, but they were not all, nor even predominatingly, French. They came from Alsace, it is true, but also from Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Hungary and Austria. And they developed a patois all their own. They were workers and they prospered, but they never grew rich and the colony never grew large. When you consider that the people occupied themselves with the founding of a church before they had homes in which to lay their bodies, it is not surprising that the accomplishment of this remote village was amazing. It is said with no little truth that the colony gave an impetus to the religious life of all southwest Texas. In 1845 the Reverend Claude Marie Dubuis, from the diocese of Lyons, rode into their midst. With the enthusiasm that gave him no rest, he set to work to serve his charges. He had first to learn their language. At times he worked in the fields to earn his bread. With his own hands he helped to break the rock for that little stone room that was the church of Castroville.

It was at his instance (for on the departure of Bishop Odin he was appointed to the see of Galveston) that there came to the village, in 1868, two Sisters of the Congregation of Divine Providence from the mother-house in Lorraine. Their mission was, of course, to found the order in Texas. Now Sister St. Andrew had a five-dollar gold piece in her pocket, and Sister Agnes had nothing at all. Young Father Peter Richard put his shoulder to the wheel of the nuns' undertaking. With his help they built eventually the great convent and school which was the mother-house of the order in Texas. But as Castroville was off the main traveled ways the Sisters moved, in 1906, into the rapidly growing city of San Antonio. They now operate the College of Our Lady of the Lake, said to be the largest Catholic woman's college in the world, on a property worth at least $3,000,000. So much for the accomplishment of two women with a five-dollar gold piece and faith and courage.

But to return to Father Richard and his people. A tablet in the church recites: "His energy, piety and zeal brought forth the works our eyes do see." This is a simple statement of fact. For these qualities not only helped forward the work of the Sisters; but together with the money of people who were poor and the labor of people who were poorer they built, there on Place Odin, the honest stone church which is the jewel of Castroville. It is the simplest of rock structures, with buttressed walls, pointed windows, and a leaping spire which in the early morning is a shaft of silver. Over the high altar stands the patron, Saint Louis, in all the panoply of royal glory. There he abides, his robe edged with ermine, embroidered with *fleurs de lis,* the crown of France on his head, scepter on right arm, Crown of Thorns on left. There is much to stir the imagination in the thought of that cantankerous, crusading King who

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always did right as he saw it, and insisted on everyone else doing it the same way; who washed the feet of the poor on Fridays; who brought the tragic Crown from the Holy Land and built that Gothic jewel case, Sainte-Chapelle, to enshrine it—there is much to stir the imagination in the thought of that pious son of Blanche of Castile, who lived in a grey palace on the Isle-de-la-Cité, presiding over a little church in a Texas village, ocean and continent from home.

For nearly a century Castroville has gone its tranquil and industrious way. If you would know what the town is like, you must envisage a green country with a cross a-top the highest hill. Below a community of little stone houses, Germanic after the manner of eastern France, grouped more or less about Place du Septembre and Place Odin. They stand in their gardens, windmills and wells and woodpiles beside them, barnyards behind them, blue morning-glories climbing over their fences, red cannas massing richly against their white walls.

The villagers have heeded the injunction of their founder to fulfill their destiny in work. But they are always having merriments at Castroville. And religious observances, too, are entwined in the life of the place. On Corpus Christi Day a procession wends its way through the streets, pausing before flower-decked altars which the young people have set up. On certain feast days, and every Friday during Lent, people old and young trudge down the dusty lane, out by the old cemetery, to toil up a path that is long and steep and rocky, to pay at last their *devoir* to Christ Crucified.

Now the Order of the Alhambra has for its dual purpose, as everyone knows, good-fellowship and the preservation of historic spots with Catholic associations. There is a peculiar fittingness in the fact that it has erected a memorial in this town which was guided by one after another of that company of priests from France, who left their gracious mark on the whole Southwest—a town characterized almost since the day of its foundation by a life that was good and also gay.

The Dead Bird

(For H. O. B.)

When I was a child that little hill
With its one lonely tree
Held all enchantment, as it still
Can bring it back to me.

Perhaps it was the sun behind
That tree in evening air,
But I was certain I should find
A treasure buried there.

But when at last, with eyes aflame
For all that they should see,
Up the brow of the hill I came
And stood beneath the tree,

Nothing was there but a green-gold bird
Dead upon the ground;
And the busy ants in columns stirred
For the treasure-trove they'd found.

Oh cheated! In my childish woe
I wept for that sharp pain.
Well for me then I did not know
How often I'd weep again.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

COMMUNICATIONS

SWORDS OR CHARITY?

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: Your editorials generally are very good, snappy and to the point, yet without giving the impression that they were written hastily. True, at times they are trite and old-maidish. To get to the point, your editorial of August 10 caused some resentment and not without reason. Apparently the article was meant to be unbiased; nevertheless, when one finished reading it, the impression was left that Mr. Hoover is a criminal of the first water. Your information concerning Mr. Hoover's ejection of the B. E. F. was, no doubt, gleaned from newspaper reports; but you as a newspaper man should know that if truth is desired the last place to look for it is in the newspapers.

"The bonus army which was dispersed really cannot be termed a whit more lawless and disorderly than the bonus army which marched to Washington some months ago." So you say, but if the throwing of brick-bats and stones at the police, the secreting of dynamite, the unlawful possession of property, utter contempt for authority, resisting the law, begging to the point of threatening or at least insulting those who refused to aid—if these and many more are lawful and orderly things to do, then you are right.

Mr. Hoover did everything possible for the B. E. F. When he offered them money to go home with, the best of the men accepted the offer and went home. Those that remained might well be classified in that peculiar group which is always found to be in want even in days of prosperity and plenty. They are of a type that will never help itself even when possible. For example, a religious order established in this city, had been feeding approximately sixty-five men every day. It so happened that while these men were eating a good dinner not so long ago, the superior of the community offered them three meals and $1.00 a day if they would dig the cellar for a proposed building. The work was to begin on the morrow. Believe it or not, four men made their appearance the following day.

I do not think that you were very fair in saying: "Mr. Hoover's decision to drive the bonus army out of Washington conforms to the ancient poetic line—'what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed.'" For Mr. Hoover acted only after receiving an urgent appeal for troops from the District of Columbia Commissioners. The President was informed, and rightly so, that the bonus men were completely out of control and had become a menace to public welfare; then, and not until then, did the President call out the troops. Contrary to your inference, the soldiers did not fire one shot; the two bonus men who were killed were shot by district policemen acting in self-defense.

The rebellious spirit of the bonus men may be attributed to several sources, none of which did you mention. Credible authority tells us that there were present in the bonus army 500 men who never saw service in the United States army or navy. The B. E. F. was put in high tension by fiery, albeit unwise speeches of Father Cox, *Pastor* (sic) *peregrinus*, and Representatives Patman and Rankin. Also the B. E. F.'s utter lack of respect for authority was caused by the "sob-sister" tactics of the chief of police, Mr. Glassford (Mr. Sands notwithstanding).

The New York *Times* was correct in stating that there has been unanimous approval of Mr. Hoover's act. Yet, you complain that the *Times* has ignored the opinions voiced in the Scripps-Howard and Hearst paper. How could the *Times* do otherwise? The Scripps-Howard and Hearst papers are preju-

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dicial to Mr. Hoover. Prejudice, of course, is a mental cancer, hence anything coming from an editorial brain so warped must of necessity be rejected. Furthermore, to understand how the editor of THE COMMONWEAL, a paper claiming a thorough Catholic background, can put confidence in anything coming out of the Scripps-Howard or Hearst papers is beyond me.

After casting not a few indirect aspersions upon Mr. Hoover with your "ifs" and "buts," you proceeded to say: "Not until fuller investigation of all the facts leading up to the tragic events of July 28 has been made, will it be possible to form a just opinion on this important aspect of the deplorable events in Washington." Will you please explain what is so deplorable about enforcing just law and maintaining order? Why not wait until that "fuller investigation of all the facts . . . has been made" before rendering a verdict of deplorable upon the action of the President. Last week, three of the B. E. F. men were indicted by a grand jury; still you refer to an act in behalf of public safety against these men as deplorable. Perhaps you do not know that the mob spirit engendered by the B. E. F. has since resulted in the murder of two district policemen.

Fairness is in order. That kind of fairness so well and aptly referred to in the last line of your editorial: "true love of God which can only be truly shown by love of our neighbors." Mr. Editor, Mr. Hoover is your neighbor.

REV. GEORGE M. RANKIN.

ABOVE THE WORLD

Detroit, Mich.

TO the Editor: Either Mr. de Balla or his translator has made a slight error in the interesting "Above the World," printed in your issue of August 17. The Carthusians are monks, not friars. It is really of some importance to distinguish, for the basic problems of the Christian life are involved in the points of difference; though nowadays the friar tends somewhat to live the monk's life, perforce.

We ought to have more essays like this for, if we cannot see the monks ourselves, it is good to be reminded otherwise that some men truly are, in David's words, intelligent and seeking God. Whenever I hear of our states as now combined to the limit of greatness, it occurs to me in echo that in no one of them is there yet a Carthusian monastery. This is not to deprecate the Benedictine and Cistercian foundations we do have; only, we ought to have more of them all. Progress is possible in some things, retrogression in everything; our country has not got very far when it is still possible to observe casually that its temper is not ascetic, as if one might or might not tend to asceticism as one may or may not like blue.

Of course, some people, some Catholics, will suspect me of begging whatever question is in issue because these monks are contemplatives, i.e., mystics. One might, now, paraphrase Meredith: "My dear sir, we are all of us." Adding even Mr. Middleton Murry and Mr. de Gaultier, the latter of whom at the age of sixteen saw clearly it was a question of choosing between himself and God and did not lose a moment deciding. I suspect, in turn, the women of our country in large numbers believe that if one is pale he is a mystic, if he is a horrid monk a contemplative, if he is always carrying things too far an ascetic. Then, besides these, there is the normal person, properly adjusted. And indeed the work of psychiatrists is at present pitiable just in that; for they adjust the maladjusted to a world which it never occurs to them needs itself to be readjusted, and to a few precisely of those who are now being called neurotic. A Catholic told me, in private, when he spoke of the monks, that in spite of everything he really thought they had resorted to a "neurotic solution," an "escape from reality," not quite healthy.

If every view included an abbey or a priory perhaps things would be improved. As it is, the prayer of monks is one of the hopes we have, the chief. Laymen might help by praying too. If it had anything to do with the matter of this note, I should perhaps ask whether the decay of Christian life is not in some way connected with the abandonment of the Office as a layman's as well as a cleric's prayer.

CRAIG LA DRIÈRE.

LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Several Catholic laymen, business men of substantial means, have reached the conclusion that the social, financial and industrial dislocation that has overwhelmed the world demands that we conform our human relations to our spiritual ideals, that the value and security of all property and the material happiness of all the people of the United States depends on the attainment in this country, of social justice as propounded by our Holy Father, Pope Pius XI, in his inspired encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno."

Convinced that the difficulties in the way of our realizing this hope are so overwhelmingly great that success can only be had with Divine assistance, we have decided to associate ourselves in a league for social justice in which the only qualification for membership will be a pledge by each member, as nearly as possible, to hear Holy Mass every day and receive Holy Communion once a week for the success of our efforts, and each undertaking to do everything in his power, in his family and religious life and in his social and business contacts, to promote the principles of social justice as defined by our Holy Father.

Feeling that many men and women of the Catholic laity and clergy would like to join in such a movement, we would appreciate your giving this letter publicity in THE COMMONWEAL, suggesting that those desiring to do so should communicate with me at the address given below, indicating their willingness to meet the above requirements.

Should any considerable number indicate their intention to join in this movement, some form of organization will be effected to facilitate their coöperation in a nation-wide effort to answer the call of our Holy Father and to attain his ideals of social justice in the United States.

Let none hesitate to join this movement on the assumption that great numbers will not do so at once. It should be remembered that only thirty-one of the leading citizens of the thirteen original American colonies, in the Declaration of Independence defied the most powerful monarch on earth and made possible the United States. They succeeded because of the spirit which actuated them, expressed thus in the last sentence of that famous declaration: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." It is in such a spirit that a comparatively few Catholics can start a movement to bring the blessings of social justice to all the people of our country.

MICHAEL O'SHAUGHNESSY,
50 Broad Street, New York City.

THE COMMONWEAL *requests its subscribers to communicate any change of addresses two weeks in advance to ensure the receipt of all issues.*

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THE PLAY AND SCREEN

BY RICHARD DANA SKINNER

Clear All Wires!

VITALITY, humor, satire and swift action abound in this play about foreign newspaper correspondents in Moscow. It also has many faults. It is unduly long. Its plot gives the impression of being overcomplicated. None of its characters has the least moral sense, and all of them act accordingly. In the latter aspect, it is merly typical of the current trend. Our more boisterous playwrights have long since ceased to pick their characters and select their material with any views toward essential worth and real values. Bella and Samuel Spewack, the authors of the present play, accept the crudeness of their situations with gusto. On the other hand, it is only fair to add that they ridicule their characters, including their hero, with glee.

The play concerns one Buckley Joyce Thomas (expertly and energetically played by Thomas Mitchell) who belongs to that slightly older generation of war and foreign correspondents who would like to have their readers back home believe that they are running governments, shaping the fate of nations and otherwise behaving as legendary heroes. Buckley Joyce Thomas "makes" news, when none is available, with utter disregard of truth and the lives and fortunes of others. If things are too quiet, he will arrange an attempted assassination, or plant a bomb which he himself can discover just in time. His ego is boundless. He has never known a scruple. His own life is the greatest drama he knows. Before the play opens he has been the chief of the European service for a great Chicago paper and syndicate. He has had the ill grace, however, to take with him to Moscow a lady of the chorus to whom the owner of his paper was privately devoted. This singular lack of etiquette is rewarded by his demotion as chief of service and his relegation to the Moscow post as his sole territory.

Burning with fury at the "ingratitude" of his chief, he decides to make things hum in the Soviet capital. He throws money around, ousts a rival correspondent from the best rooms in the Hotel Savoy, writes reams about his "life with the Red army," cables back a cross-section of Russia today after a three-minute interview with a soldier, a peasant, a workman and a "new woman," finds this material unacceptable to the home office and proceeds to arrange in his own rooms the attempted assassination of a Prince distantly related to the Romanoffs. Unfortunately, at the scheduled time for the assassination, the Commissar of Foreign Affairs makes him a visit accompanied by the chief of the Secret Service. The Commissar sits in the very place where the Prince was to be shot in the shoulder. It is too late to prevent the "assassin's" shot. Buckley Joyce Thomas has to throw himself between the Commissar and the "assassin," receives the shot in his own arm, and is able to cable back the story of how he, single-handed, saved the life of one of Russia's highest officials.

Unfortunately for Buckley Joyce Thomas, the chief of the G. P. U. (secret service) is not easily satisfied and makes further investigations, aided by the rival correspondent whom Thomas has dispossessed. Things begin to look excessively black for the typewriter hero until it turns out that the fatal shot was actually fired by a fanatic and not by the planted "assassin," and that the fanatic was intent upon shooting none other than the "great American correspondent" himself. As a result of this stupendous achievement, the Hearst papers offer Thomas a contract to cover the wars in China—and all is well.

One feels that in this uproarious jumble the Spewacks must have worked out of their systems all the accumulated rancor and amusement of their years of experience at similar outposts of newspaperdom. At all events, they have quite successfully deflated at least one type of foreign service journalist. I imagine that, to many people, the most interesting part of the satire will be the sharp impression of modern Russia created through the minor incidents and characters of the play. After allowing for all exaggerations, one still gathers a sense of authenticity that is not without value. The Spewacks are not unfriendly to the U. S. S. R., but they never force the point, and they make their composite picture into good-humored comedy.

Thomas Mitchell carries most of the burden of the play in an unbelievably long part, demanding action every instant. Without his sure sense of timing, the play would often fall into hopeless doldrums. Most of the other members of the cast are native Russians, and the realism of language is well handled through interpreters and in thoroughly logical fashion without slowing up the action. The faults of the play are obvious. Its purely dramatic merits are well above the average. (At the Times Square Theatre.)

Life Begins

IT IS a little difficult to get at the exact purpose of the producers of the distinctly obstetrical film known as "Life Begins." Perhaps, as one of the critical blurbs announces, "women will love it." At all events, it uses the rather thin thread of a story about a girl condemned to a long prison term for shooting a man as an excuse for taking us through all the details of a maternity ward. The girl is sent down from prison to have her child at a large lying-in hospital. Her pathetic young husband joins her there. She is placed in a ward occupied by an unbelievable variety of women in similar condition —a ward used for the "difficult" cases. There is the cabaret singer who is constantly drinking gin from a hot water bottle and thinks she is not going to want her child, the elderly woman having her sixth child, a poor Italian having her first, an unmarried mother, and a wife with an hysterical husband. When this husband faints after "everything is over," the competent chief nurse assures everyone that the hospital has "never yet lost a father." There is also the insane patient who escapes from her own ward and helps to create a morbid atmosphere.

The whole point of the story seems to center on the ultimate decision of the doctors to save the life of the child of the little prison mother rather than the life of the mother. The facts leading up to the need for this decision are rather arbitrarily manufactured—as an earlier decision might have saved both lives. Moreover, the decision is not made on ethical grounds, but entirely on the pragmatic grounds that the mother would have to serve out her twenty-year term in any case, and that this fact throws the weight of consideration to the child. The tragedy of the young husband is alleviated by the hope that comes to him when the child is first placed in his arms. The emotional trend of the story is to show the transforming effect and importance of new life upon every sort of character. To that extent it is not objectionable. But many of its impressions are needlessly morbid and alarming to the sensitive minded. Nor is it easy to find any justification in the instincts of good taste and proportion for the utterly clinical character of the whole affair. If it was well intentioned, the means selected are unfortunate. If it was merely a sensational lure for the morbid feminine mind, it is inexcusable.

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BOOKS

The Wide World

Van Loon's Geography, by Hendrik Willem Van Loon. New York: Simon and Schuster. $3.75.

THE FAMILIAR Van Loon explicitness and simplicity must even provoke a child at times to say, "Pooh-pooh, my man, be your age." But when this protest has been registered, one must admire his talent for making a coherent narrative of very large themes and for endowing static facts with the blush of life. It may seem unflattering to say that the present book is as interesting as "The World Almanac" would be in a copiously illustrated edition, but this gives a good idea of its peculiar charm. It is full of plums of information, and certain people in certain moods find a blameless delight in being confronted with Tiller ballet movements of indisputable facts. Some of the facts have implications, of course; and some may be presented in a manner suggestive of one of the author's pet theories; but these are of the safe type, such as that it is nice to be nice and if everybody were just right everything would be lovely.

It seems somehow important at the time to have it pointed out that the great discoveries and the great trade routes of the world were made for the sake of trifles, for amber and pearls and dyes and spices; it is pleasant to read of the bucolic balance in Denmark, of the hundreds of thousands of independent farmers who operate in peace, content and plenty, small farms ranging from ten to a hundred acres; it is interesting to be told that Norway has a tillable area of only 4 percent of its total area, but that it has a coast line six times longer than it would be if the coast formed a straight line, and providentially the Gulf Stream sees to it that the principal harbors are free of ice the year around; and it is suddenly enlightening to realize that in the midst of their present social, political and economic experiment, the Russian people are completely cut off from the rest of the world, "read very few foreign books, never see any but strictly censored foreign newspapers, and might as well be living on the planet Mars for all they really know about their neighbors." These are samples of the subjects treated, but they give no idea of the book's range. There is something of everything, physical geography, commercial geography, political and social geography. The author's celebrated, rather Da-Daistic drawings scattered through the text, are often effective, but here again the stylized simplicity (and multiplicity) does tire a little. The book, like the author's earlier outline of history, is not for adult scholars, but non-adults of all ages, who are said to be many and surely they deserve some consideration, it will amaze, amuse and inform.

FREDERIC THOMPSON.

Paying for Trouble

The Financial Aftermath of War, by Sir Josiah Stamp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.

SIR JOSIAH STAMP'S book is "an attempt to express... in the simplest and most elementary terms, the chief facts and considerations about post-war finance—taxation, inflation, deflation, reparations and debts. He treats them not as a mass of facts and figures "so much as a mode of thinking ... to make you see behind all statistics and forms and figures, the realities of the movement of goods and the claims of individuals to use them."

The first chapter is on government taxation and borrowing for war purposes. These are generally inadequate, and inflation is resorted to. Inflation currency (Chapter II) "is really a system of silent confiscatory taxation." Governments resort

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to it because it is easy "and more or less unsuspected while it is going on." This chapter and the following on deflation are heartily recommended to the vocal legion of inflationists which has arisen throughout the land. Currency inflation brings in its train more difficulties than it solves (pages 57 ff.). The German and French experiences are described in some detail. These chapters will be no less useful to those of us who do not believe in currency manipulation, and will serve as a sort of schedule or time-table of what to expect when the currency enthusiasts crowd the sound money defenders out of Washington.

The chapter on reparations is an illuminating discussion of this unhappy subject from the fever days of 1919, when English orators promised to "squeeze Germany until you can hear the pips squeak," down to the eve of the Lausanne Conference. "There is no clearer indication than the history of reparations of the way in which monetary expressions cloak the physical facts behind them, and if people realized the facts about the transfer of goods from one national heap to another, they would appreciate the real underlying difficulties of the situation." Once we translate the monetary figures into goods, and the movement of goods, it becomes obvious that reparation payments are an impossibility, a fact realized by economists years ago. The reader will recall Mr. Keynes's prophecies in "The Economic Consequences of the Peace." The whole responsibility for the reparations mess rests on "the stupidity of democracies and the cupidity of political parties" (page 116).

There is an appendix on the gold standard.

This book is warmly recommended to the general reader. It is very readable and sound, with the exception that the author leans too heavily on the quantity theory of money, and is too prone to regard the quantity of gold, credit and currency as prime causes of the price level. Finance is only one side of the question. Overproduction, scarcity, special occasions of demand (urgent demand, as in the case of war), technological improvements in industrial processes, mechanization, are "physical" causes more important than the monetary. The difficulty of making the monetary explanation alone work can be seen from the fact that in August, the lowest month of depression so far, the gold reserves of central banks were $1,500,000,000 more than in June, 1929. This is about 15 percent up, while prices are about 40 percent down.

VICTOR VON SZELISKI.

Out of India

Sheaves, by Rabindranath Tagore; selected and translated by Nagendranath Gupta. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

ALTHOUGH the fashion of Tagore perceptibly has dwindled, it still is mystifying to consider that, in Germany, the sales of his books have amounted to millions of copies; that—along with Anatole France, Shaw and Sinclair Lewis—he has been awarded the Nobel prize, and that he can be regarded by his present translator in even so insubstantial an equivalence with Victor Hugo as: "When Rabindranath and Victor Hugo are named together, we have to remember that there is music in the trickle of the rill and the flow of the spring and there is music also in the rush of the rapid and the thunder of the cataract."

Tagore's vogue is difficult to explain. One is not easily persuaded that exoticism alone is responsible. In Germany and France the fascination of the exotic is far more strongly felt than it is in America, but to the European the exotic has an objective existence, remote, strange, impenetrable. To the

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SAINT ELIZABETH

Sister of Saint Francis

by Elisabeth von Schmidt-Pauli

As editor of the series, I wish to make a few remarks. Many good books were published last year. Many more are certain to appear this season. But there will not be another like Elisabeth von Schmidt-Pauli's SAINT ELIZABETH. It is first of all the world's greatest love story. A beautiful, humorous, touching story of human love. But also a story of the mystery of God's affection for man, which rivals even the narrative of Saint Francis himself.
So deeply convinced am I that this is the best Catholic book of the year—and maybe of a good many years—that I wish to make the following suggestion. Let any member of the Catholic clergy order a copy from his regular dealer. If he does not agree with me that this is an extraordinary book—fascinatingly interesting, superbly well-written, immeasurably valuable as a human and spiritual document—I will personally refund the purchase price of the book. This offer is not made in any spirit of generosity. I am as poor as I always was. But in this case I am confident.

——*George N. Shuster.*

The book will be published on October seventh at two dollars and fifty cents.

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American, it is doubtless an "escape element" in his poems, comparable to that afforded by the cinema, which is the chief reason for Tagore's popularity. In a poetry so profoundly rooted as Tagore's is in a belief, a culture, completely alien to that of the West, there obviously can be no essential understanding of it. Yet, there are to be found in certain of the less specific of these late poems an approach to nature that is not far removed from that of the Western mystic's, for all that it is founded on a vastly different concept.

The interest aroused by these late pieces is chiefly scholarly. What authentic poetry there is in them must be perceived to exist in an impure state. The specific language, for the expression of abstractions and of states of being, the Hindu has developed is not readily translated, and what exactness of translation may be possible is most frequently but slightly indicated in Nagendranath Gupta's versions. A naive literalness, a substitution of definite symbols of the West for the tenuous abstractions of the East, require the reader's indulgence when they do not completely befuddle his attempt both to follow the version given and to reconstruct the probable originals of these verses. The use of such phrases as "she turned the rosary of peace in prayer" seems, in the translation of the poems of a Hindu mystic, not only a curious slip on the part of the translator but a bewilderment to the reader who tries to imagine what Tagore's image really was.

RAYMOND LARSSON.

Meaning Little

The Machines We Are: The Principles of Living Phenomena, by Robert T. Hance. New York: Crowell Publishing Company. $3.00.

ABOUT half of this volume is a series of papers read over the radio for several years. One of the richest sources of materials for printing in the old days was the sermons of the ministers, which were considered worthy of preservation. Apparently we are going to have something of the same thing from the men who talk over the radio, and now the scientists are to have their show in print. There is question whether the books thus made will have much more permanent value than the old volumes of sermons, which are now preserved only if they happen to have been bibliographic curios of special interest for posterity because of their relationship to some special printer or publisher.

The present volume has a store of information rather cleverly put. But the growth of knowledge is so rapid and often so revolutionary in biology—take the example of the vitamins almost undreamt of a little more than a score of years ago—that books of this kind are likely to be of only passing interest. What caught the attention when listened to in an idle hour over the radio, is rather commonplace a year later when committed to cold print. And this is just one of the many popularizing scientific books rushed from the press at the present time, meaning little now and less a few years from now.

Man is so much more than a machine, that it seems too bad to emphasize that feature of human life. He is a tool-making and a tool-using animal—and the only one—but in addition to that, he is an idea-making animal. The influence of the mind on the body, the basis of cures of all kinds that have been made all down the centuries and continue to be made through materials that have no physical efficacy, has come to be recognized more and more in recent years and definitely eliminates the idea of man in any sense of the word as a mere machine.

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Briefer Mention

Patriotism, by Percy Crosby. New York: Published by the author; distributed by G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.00.

WHAT there is of charm, of individuality and humor about the current small American boy, that Percy Crosby with his "Skippy" drawings and sequences has caught. His present venture, however, into a flaying of what he conceives to be the principal errors of the day, is less fortunate. There is disarming sincerity and the will to do good in what he says, but his ardor leads him to grant his opposition too little of like qualities. The form in which the book is written of a dialogue between "Patriot" and "Pacifist," in which "Patriot" has all the best speeches and keeps "Pacifist" pedaling backwards the whole way, is not a happy one. These are matters of appearances, but in writing, Mr. Crosby as an artist will appreciate, appearances are everything. There is no doubt that his heart is in the right place and many persons who share his animadversions will enjoy his book, as partizans in eighteenth-century London hailed with delight the lusty diatribes and political lampoons that were popular then.

How to Use English: A Guide to Correct Speech and Writing, by Frank H. Vizetelly. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. $2.50.

THIS book, by our most popular linguistic historian, has the interest and some of the challenging attitude for which he is renowned. The plan resembles that of Fowler's "Modern English Usage," in that a sequence of more or less disputed words are discussed at such length as may seem appropriate. If Vizetelly is a less delightful author than Fowler, he is nevertheless frequently a more erudite one. Origins are his hobby, and of course they serve to justify his stern insistence upon the just claims of usage. We predict a very considerable success for this book, which it will have merited in every respect. The format is convenient and attractive.

Things Seen in Scottish Highlands, by James Baikie. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated. $1.50.

THE BENS and braes of Scotland are worth visiting and writing about, so that Mr. Baikie must have enjoyed a task which enabled him to contribute another little volume to that good and useful series known as "Things Seen." This book is limited strictly to the Highlands. The author slights neither history nor landscape, but he seems particularly devoted to the first. Much of the standard guide-book information—e.g., the register of hotels—is omitted.

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